

# Southern folklore Quarterly

---

VOLUME XV

DECEMBER, 1951

NUMBER 4

---

## JUDAEO-SPANISH BALLADS FROM ATLANTA, GEORGIA

By Raymond R. MacCurdy  
and  
Daniel D. Stanley<sup>1</sup>

The story of the expulsion of the Spanish Jews from Spain is well known,<sup>2</sup> but perhaps it will not be amiss to restate here the essential facts in their history prior to the migration of many of them to the United States. Following the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella, signed in 1492, which decreed that the *Sefardies* must accept Christianity or abandon the home of their ancestors, the great majority chose exile and sought refuge in various parts of Europe and Africa. The cities of the Turkish Empire in particular became a haven for these Jews; and for about four centuries, they were permitted to live in peace in colonies where they clung tenaciously to the language, folkways, and religion of their ancestors. However, in the early years of this century, a wave of nationalism among the Turks forced the hapless Jews to abandon their adopted country and seek a new homeland. Many of them sought refuge in the United States, where they concentrated in the larger cities, including Atlanta. Shortly thereafter they were joined by another large migration of *Sefardies* from the Island of Rhodes. It is difficult to arrive at the number of Spanish Jews now residing in Atlanta, estimates varying from one hundred to two hundred or more families. Immigrants from the Island of Rhodes appear to be in the majority.

In recent years, as assimilation of the group has progressed, the clannish communal life of the *Sefardies* has largely been dissipated. The Sephardic community now gathers only for weddings, funerals, and religious affairs. Many of the children of Spanish-speaking parents grow up without speaking the language although they are accustomed to hearing it in their homes.

<sup>1</sup> The texts and notes for this study have been prepared by MacCurdy; the musical transcriptions, by Stanley.

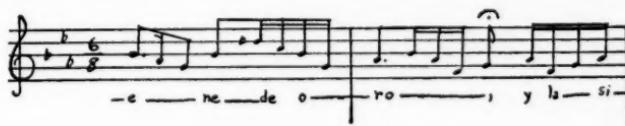
<sup>2</sup> For part of their material on the background of the Turkish *Sefardies* and their dialect, the authors are indebted to the concise but informative article by G. W. Umphrey and Emma Adatto, "Linguistic Archaisms of the Seattle Sephardim," *Hispania*, XIX (1936), 255-264.

The ballads (*romanzas* in Sephardic speech) presented below were transcribed from phonograph records made by Mrs. Catina Cohen, approximately fifty years old, who is a native of the Island of Rhodes, where she learned the ballads in her childhood.<sup>3</sup> She has been living in Atlanta since shortly after the first World War.

In the transcriptions of the texts of the ballads, standard orthography is followed except in the following cases: (1) *s* always represents voiceless *s*; and (2) *z* represents a voiced *s*. The characteristic Sephardic pronunciation of certain consonants is indicated in the margin of the text. It will be noted that there are a few circumflexes used in the musical transcription. This was occasioned by the musical transcription's being photographed before the type was set, when it was discovered that circumflexes were not available in the font.

<sup>3</sup> The authors wish to express their appreciation to Mrs. Cohen for her cooperation, to her son-in-law, Henry Maslia, who generously assisted with the texts, and to Mrs. Marilyn C. Emmons, who kindly copied the musical transcriptions.

## A. AMADÍ



Arboleros, arboleros,  
arbolero tan gentil, [d3]  
la rais tiene de oro  
y la simiente de marfil;  
(en) la ramica más alta  
una dama hay allí,  
se pinaba los sus cabellos  
con un peine de marfil.  
Por allí pasó un caballero,

se mostraba tan gentil: [dʒ]  
 —¿ Qué buscáis vos mi señora,  
 qué buscáis por aquí?—  
 —Busco yo a mi marido,  
 a mi marido Amadí—.  
 —¿ Qué daréis vos mi señora  
 que vos lo trujera aquí?— [ʃ]  
 —Daré mis tres molinos,  
 tres molinos de Amadí;  
 el uno muele la canela,  
 el otro muele selsebí,<sup>4</sup>  
 el más chico de ellos  
 harina del pan d'Amadí—.  
 —¿ Qué más daréis vos mi señora  
 que vos lo trujera aquí?— [ʃ]  
 —Daré yo mi spada y lansa  
 de la que pelea Amadí—.  
 —¿ Qué más daréis vos mi señora  
 que vos lo trujera aquí?— [ʃ]  
 —Daré yo mis tres hijas, [ʒ]  
 las tres hijas que yo parí; [ʒ]  
 la una para la meza,  
 la otra para el servir,  
 y la más chiquitica de ellas  
 por holgar el buen dormir—.  
 —Más daréis vos mi señora  
 que vos lo trujera aquí—. [ʃ]  
 Mal haya tal caballero  
 que tal se sintió decir.  
 —No lloréis vos mi señora,  
 no lloréis vos por mí,  
 que yo soy tu marido,  
 tu marido Amadí—.  
 —Una vez, ¿qui era esto,  
 qué señas me déis a mí?—  
 —Dembajo del pecho siedro<sup>5</sup>  
 un lunar tenéis allí,  
 con tres cavetos<sup>6</sup> de oro  
 que sonan al vestir—.  
 Ya la toma de la mano,  
 ya se van a pasear  
 debajo de un rosal verde,  
 so l'ombra<sup>7</sup> de un turongar.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Selsebí*, meaning unknown by the informant (*salsifi?*).

<sup>5</sup> *Siedro* = *izquierdo*.

<sup>6</sup> *Cavetos* = *cabellos*.

<sup>7</sup> *So l'ombra* = under the shade.

<sup>8</sup> *Turongar* = grapefruit tree.

This particular ballad is a Judaeo-Spanish version of the widely current and very popular ballad, *Las señas del marido* (or *La vuelta del marido*). Only in Sephardic and Catalan versions does the name of the husband, Amadi, occur; and there are a great number of other textual and structural differences between our version and the Spanish peninsular and American variants. Ramón Menéndez Pidal lists similar Sephardic versions for Adrianople, Bosnia, and Tangier.<sup>9</sup>

## B. LA DONCELLA GUERRERA

Mel ha - ya tri pa de me -

dre gro tan - das him -

- das pa - ri - ó

pa - ri - ó si - e te hi - das hem bras, sin hin -

gún hi - zo va - rón [4m]

<sup>9</sup> *Romancero judio-español*, in *Los romances de América y otros estudios* (2nd ed.; Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1941), p. 169, no. 58. This *Romancero* was first published in *Cultura Española*, November, 1906, and February, 1907, under the title of *Catálogo del romancero*.

—Mal haya tripa de madre  
que tantas hijas parió, [3]  
parió siete hijas hembras [3]  
sin ningún hijo varón—. [3]  
Saltó la más chica d'ellas,  
la que en buen día nasió:  
—No maldigas, el mi padre,  
no maldigas sin rasón;  
si es por vuestras guerras,  
las guerras venso yo—.  
—Calla, calla tú mi hija, [3]  
y no hables sin rasón,  
todo el mundo ya lo sabe  
que no tengo hijo varón; [3]  
todo el mundo ya lo sabe  
que no tengo hijo varón—. [3]  
Ya tomó arma y sabra,<sup>10</sup>  
vestido de hijo varón; [3]  
camino de ocho días  
en los tres los llegó;  
en entrando por las guerras,  
las guerras ya las vensió;  
tanto fué su fuertalesa,  
que el coltuc<sup>11</sup> se la deladó.<sup>12</sup>  
El hijo del rey d'en frente [3]  
de verla se desmayó:  
—Ya me muero la mi madre,  
ya me muero d' este amor—.  
—¿Qué te haré, el mi hijo? [3]  
Hechos tiene de varón—.  
—¿Qué te diré, la mi madre?  
Ella es hembra y no varón—.  
—Hácele un gran convite  
a la meza de tu señor,  
mételle pan y cochillo,  
verás si es hembra o varón—.  
Ya se senta a la meza  
y el pan ya le rebanó.

---

*judio-español*. Henceforth, it will be referred to by the short title *Catálogo*, but all references are to the Espasa-Calpe second edition.

For an up-to-date bibliography of the American versions of this ballad, see Raymond R. MacCurdy, "Un romance tradicional recogido en Luisiana: *Las Señas del marido*," *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, Año XIII, Num. 1 y 2 (Enero y Abril, 1947), 164-166.

<sup>10</sup> *Sabra* = *sable*.

<sup>11</sup> *Coltuc* = "hat."

<sup>12</sup> *Deladar* = *ladear*.

—Ya me muero la mi madre,  
me muero d'este amor—.  
—¿ Qué te haré el mi hijo? [3]  
Hechos tiene de varón. . .

Our version of *La doncella guerrera* is of particular interest because it appears to be the only Sephardic variant which follows the peninsular versions in enumerating the series of tests to which the girl is submitted to determine her sex. Unfortunately, the informant had forgotten the verses of the final test in which the girl is asked to go bathing, which she cannot do, of course, thus revealing her identity. In the Jewish versions recorded by Paul Bénichou,<sup>13</sup> and in those of Danon and Ortega, cited by Bénichou, the sex of the girl is revealed when her hat falls off in the course of battle. In his *Catálogo*, Menéndez Pidal lists a Jewish version for Tangier and Adrianople, of which he says: "Difiere mucho de las versiones peninsulares y representa una forma estropeada."<sup>14</sup> In his *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, Menéndez Pidal says the ballad is also known among the Jews of Hungary, Serbia, Greece, Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Palestine;<sup>15</sup> and as evidence of the ballad's popularity in Spain, the same author states that he possesses "un centenar de versiones modernas." The ballad seems to have very limited diffusion in America. Vicente Mendoza reprints a three line fragment,<sup>16</sup> collected by Pedro Henríquez Ureña; but the ballad does not appear in most of the standard American collections.

<sup>13</sup> *Romances judeo-españoles de Marruecos*, Buenos Aires, 1946, pp. 48-50.

<sup>14</sup> P. 191.

<sup>15</sup> 3rd ed.; Buenos Aires, 1941, p. 217.

<sup>16</sup> In *El romance español y el corrido mexicano*, Mexico, 1939, p. 388.

## C. A LA ORILLA DE UNA FUENTE

A la o-rí-lla de u-na fuen-ti, u- na za-ca-la vi  
 a la o-rí-lla de u-na fuen-ti, u- na za-ca-la vi  
 bru-i-do de - l'a - za yo de allá a-cer-qui  
 sen-ti u - na voz que de - zi-á; ay de mí, ay de mí, ay de mí  
 sen-ti u - na voz que de - zi-á; ay de mí, ay de mí, ay de mí.

A la orilla de una fuenti  
 una zacala<sup>17</sup> vi,  
 a la orilla de una fuenti  
 una zacala vi;  
 al bruido<sup>18</sup> de l'agua  
 yo de allá acerqui;<sup>19</sup>  
 sentí una voz que dezía:

<sup>17</sup> *Zacala* = *zagala*.

<sup>18</sup> *Bruido* = *ruido*.

<sup>19</sup> *Acerqui* = *acerqué*. All *-ar* verbs have their first person singular preterit ending in *-i*.

—Ay de mí, ay de mí, ay de mí.—  
 Sentí una voz que decía:  
 —Ay de mí, ay de mí, ay de mí.—  
 Cuando la vide solica  
 le declarí l'amor,  
 cuando la vide solica  
 le declari l'amor.  
 La niña tan honesta  
 nada no consintió;  
 porque dijo la niña: [ʃ]  
 —Ya cayí, ya cayí 'n el amor.—  
 Entonces dijo la niña: [ʃ]  
 —Ya cayí, ya cayí 'n el amor.—  
 Al despartirme de ella  
 un abrazo le di;  
 al despartirme de ella  
 un abrazo le di.  
 Llorando y sospirando  
 yo de ella me alejí:  
 —Que mi amor en ti sola,  
 sola en ti, sola en ti se fundió;  
 que mi amor en ti sola,  
 sola en ti, sola en ti se fundió.—

Of this lovely ballad, Menéndez Pidal says in his *Catálogo*: "Es canción también muy conocida en España, donde yo la tenía por muy moderna; pero le asegura una relativa antigüedad el hallarse entre los judíos de Bulgaria."<sup>20</sup> It is listed as a ballad of Jewish origin by Luis Santullano.<sup>21</sup> The ballad also enjoys some popularity in America, having been collected in Puerto Rico<sup>22</sup> and New Mexico.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> P. 197.

<sup>21</sup> *Romancero español*, Madrid, 1943, p. 1028.

<sup>22</sup> María Cadilla de Martínez, *La poesía popular en Puerto Rico*, Madrid, 1933, p. 230.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur L. Campa, *Spanish Folk-Poetry in New Mexico*, Albuquerque, N. M., 1946, pp. 52-53.

## D. LA DAMA Y EL PASTOR

The musical score is composed of six staves of music in common time (indicated by '6'). The lyrics are written below each staff. The first staff: 'En la ciudad de Ma-ral se lla-ha-ha'. The second staff: 'da-ma tan-be-lla; se pi-na-ha y s'a-fi-'. The third staff: 'ca-ba-en la-vin-ta-na ta-sen-ta'. The fourth staff: 'da; de co-mer no le da-ba-pa-na-le-di-2a'. The fifth staff: 'la-di-2a-con-mi ya-la-na-me'. The sixth staff: 'que-ro-ir.'

En la ciudad de Marsella  
 hay una dama tan bella;  
 se pinaba<sup>24</sup> y s' afitaba,  
 en la vintana 'tá sentada;  
 de comer no le daba gana. Le dijo, le dijo: [3]

<sup>24</sup> Pinaba = peinaba. The diphthong *ei* is often reduced to *i*, as seen also in *afitaba* < *afeitaba*.

—Yo con mi galana me quero ir—.  
 Por allí pasó un caballero,  
 un caballero tan gentil: [dʒ]  
 —Si tú ves las mis colas,<sup>25</sup>  
 hay tan rubias y tan longas—.  
 —Tú te enforcarás con ellas, — le dijo, le dijo, [z]  
 —yo con mi galana me quero ir—.

The text of this ballad is obviously faulty, since we have the knight speaking before he actually arrives on the scene. At first glance there appears to be no similarity between our ballad and the great number of peninsular versions which go under the title of *La gentil dama y el rústico pastor* (or *El villano vil*). The similarity lies in the common theme: in both cases the man rejects the advances of an amorous female. Here the resemblance ends. Our hero has somehow been transported to Marseilles, he is not a shepherd, and he wishes to rush off to join his lady friend, not his flock. However, there can be little doubt that our version evolved from the more standard versions, as is attested by the study of other Sephardic versions which serve as a connecting link between the two extremes. I reproduce here the full text of a Jewish version published by Rodolfo Gil, which may be of interest in showing the evolution of our abbreviated and widely divergent form:

—Ven aquí tú, pastor lindo,  
 gozarás de los mis bienes,  
 comerás y beberás  
 y hacerás tú lo que querés.  
 —Yo no oyo a mujeres,—  
 le dijo Selví  
 —que yo con mi galana  
 me quero ir.  
 —Si tú vías las mis manos  
 con mis dedos alhedafios!  
 Cuando paso por la plaza  
 todos se quedan mirando.  
 —En el fuego sean quemados,—  
 le dijo Selví  
 —que yo con mi galana  
 me quero ir.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, we see here that the gentleman in question is a shepherd; but as in the

<sup>25</sup> *Colas* = curls.

<sup>26</sup> *Romancero judeo-español*, Madrid, 1911, no. XLII.

Atlanta version, he wishes to join his ladylove rather than his flock, and he harshly repulses the lady by telling her that she and her pretty hands can go burn (instead of our more poetic rejoinder to the effect that the lady can go hang herself with her beautiful blonde tresses).

Menéndez Pidal reproduces in his *Catálogo* a version from Adrianople which is identical to Gil's;<sup>27</sup> and the same author gives the text of a Chilean version in *Los romance de America*.<sup>28</sup> The ballad is one of the most popular in Spain

#### E. LA MALCASADA DEL PASTOR

The musical score is in G major, 6/8 time. The lyrics are:

La mi ma-dre-ra de Fran-cia, y el mi pa-dre  
 e-ra-d'A-ra-zon; más que-  
 nun-ca se-ca-za-tan pa-ra que-na-si-e-za  
 yo.

<sup>27</sup> P. 198, no. 139.

<sup>28</sup> Pp. 29-30.

and America. Arthur L. Campa lists sixteen American versions,<sup>29</sup> and his bibliography does not include eleven Argentine versions in the collection of Ismael Moya.<sup>30</sup>

La mi madre era de Francia  
y el mi padre era d' Aragón;  
más que<sup>31</sup> nunca se cazarán  
para que nasiera yo.  
Por allí pasó un caballero  
y de mí se enamoró;  
la pobre la de Delgadina,  
chica, chica, se murió. . .

---

This fragment unquestionably belongs to the *esposa desdichada* cycle and more particularly to *La malcasada del pastor*, as may be seen by comparing the first few verses with those of other Sephardic versions. For example, number VI in the collection of Bénichou has the following opening verses: "Mi padre era de Fransia/ y mi madre no;/ ajuntáronse a una/ y nasiera yo."<sup>32</sup> And number 72 of Menéndez Pidal's *Catálogo* opens: "Mi padre era de Francia,/ mi madre de Aragón." Unfortunately, our fragment is too brief to permit tracing the development of the theme;<sup>33</sup> and this is particularly to be regretted since the mention of the girl's name, Delgadina, suggests the confusion of two ballads, and possibly three, in the Island of Rhodes. The name is not found in any other Jewish or peninsular version of *La malcasada* that I have seen, but there is a suggestion of the Delgadina theme in a version collected by Abraham Galante.<sup>34</sup> This version corresponds to number 41 of Menéndez Pidal's *Catálogo*, to which he gives the title *Hero y Leandro*. The beginning verses are: "Tres hermanas eran,/ tres hermanas son,/ las dos están casadas,/ la chica en pedrición / su padre con vergüenza/ a Rodes la mandó. . ./ Varón que lo supo/ al nadar se echó,/ sus braços hizo remos,/ al castillo arrivó. . ." Then follow the rescue and denouement as in *La malcasada del pastor*. Menéndez Pidal sees no con-

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>30</sup> *Romancero*, 2 vols.; Buenos Aires, 1941, II, 74-84.

<sup>31</sup> *Más que* = *aunque*.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>33</sup> In the versions of Bénichou and Menéndez Pidal, cited above, the girl is married by her parents to a cruel shepherd who woefully mistreats her. She is saved from this wretched life when a knight passes by, falls in love with her, and carries her off.

<sup>34</sup> "Quatorze romances judéo-espagnols," *Revue Hispanique*, X (1903), no. 3.

nection between the two ballads, but says merely that the text of *Hero y Leandro* has been contaminated. Since the introductions of *Hero y Leandro* and *Delgadina* are quite similar, as are the denouements of *Hero y Leandro* and *La malcasada del pastor*, it seems possible that there has been confusion of the three ballads in Sephardic tradition.

## F. LA TRAICIÓN

The musical score consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with "El rey que mu—cho ma—druga,— el rey que mu—cho". The second staff begins with "ma—druga, on—de la rei—na— se—i—ba;— el". The third staff begins with "rey qui—zo burl—lar con e—lla, el la—di—co—la—". The fourth staff begins with "apri—ta—ba,— el la—di—co la—pri—ta—ba—". The music is in G clef, 6/8 time, and features various rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.

El rey que mucho madruga,  
el rey que mucho madruga,  
onde la reina se iba;  
el rey quiso burlar con ella, [5]  
el ladico la apritaba,  
el ladico la apritaba.  
—Deséis, deséis, ángel mío, [ʃ] [ʃ]  
sois tú mi primer enamorado,

dos hijos tengo tuyos [3]  
y dos del rey son cuatro.  
Los tuyos comen en meza,  
los tuyos comen en meza,  
y los del rey en l'estera,  
y los del rey en l'estera;  
los tuyos suben a caballos  
y los del rey en los asnos,  
los tuyos suben a caballos  
y los del rey en los asnos. . .

In this version of *La traición* (known also as *Landarico* and *Andarleto*), we are again confronted with a fragment — a fact to be regretted because the version appears to be unique in its frequent use of repetition. The rest of the story is as follows: when the queen discovers it was her husband and not her lover who pinched her — and to whom she has been talking as she made her toilet —, she pretends she has been dreaming ("deseís, deseís, señor mío/ que sueño me he soñado"). But the king refuses to believe her, draws his sword and beheads her.

In the words of Menéndez Pidal, "Este romance, que es sin duda uno de los más difundidos entre los judíos españoles, es raro en la Península."<sup>35</sup> I have not found it in any American collection.

<sup>35</sup> *Catálogo*, pp. 178-179, no. 82. It is listed for Ristori, Tangier, Constantinople, Adrianople, Salónica, Oriente, and Bosnia.

## G. TRUBADOR

Tru-ba-dor, tú que can-tas y gi-mes, y re-cuer-das tus tris-tes do-lores; Tru-ba-dor, ¡Ay! ne-si vas can-tan-do, ¡Ay! ne-si vas can-tan-do por Dios.

Trubador, tú que cantas y gimes  
 y recuerdas tus tristes dolores;  
 trubador, ¡ay! ne si vas<sup>36</sup> cantando,  
 ¡ay! ne si vas cantando por Dios.

Un recuerdo de una noche de paseo  
 cuando todo en silencio estaba;  
 mi alma de amor sospiraba,  
 era el último adios que te di.

Un recuerdo tú también me dejates  
 a la luz de la pálida luna:  
 —Yo no debo amar más que una,  
 yo no debo amar más que ti—.

<sup>36</sup> *Ne si vas* = *no te vayas*. The informant could not explain the use of this negative, but obviously foreign influence is at work here.

A la muerte a mi Oxodio amaba,  
 mala muerte ensasada<sup>37</sup> no me oía;  
 un puñal que en mis manos ternía,  
 ¡ah! con él se acabó la mi dolor.

This is clearly not a ballad, nor is it likely a traditional Spanish song. It is presented here as an example of a popular Sephardic lyric.

H. DON BUESO

De las altas mares  
 abaja la blanca niña, [f]  
 encargada en el oro  
 y la perlería;  
 en la su cabesa  
 unas piedras finas,  
 más alelumbra<sup>38</sup> de noche  
 que el sol a la mediodía.  
 A la reina mora  
 él se la llevaría.  
 —¿Para qué la quero  
 esta blanca niña?  
 Que el rey es mancebo  
 se enamoraría;  
 presto que la lleven  
 al caño de la cozina—.  
 —Quitéis, la mi señora,  
 el beber del vino;  
 que cobréis dolores  
 y cobréis sospiros—.  
 Cuanto más le quitan  
 el beber del vino,  
 más se arrecendía. . .<sup>39</sup>

This fragment of *Don Bueso* corresponds to most of the Jewish versions in having hemistichs with six syllables predominating. As noted by Menéndez Pidal, this form is found also in Spain, but the great majority of peninsular versions belong to a later redaction with octosyllabic verse.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps it will be well to restate the whole story of *Don Bueso* to show how

<sup>37</sup> *Ensasada* = "burning", according to the informant.

<sup>38</sup> *Alelumbrar* = *relumbrar*.

<sup>39</sup> *Arrecender* = "to become heated."

<sup>40</sup> *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, p. 253.

our version compares with others. A young princess (*la blanca niña*) is captured by Moors; she is mistreated by the Moorish queen and is made to wash clothes. Don Bueso happens along and orders her to cease washing so his horse may drink clean water. When she replies she is not a Moor but a Christian captive, he offers to liberate her. As they travel past familiar landmarks, the reminiscing of the girl reveals to Don Bueso that she is his long lost sister. He then takes her to their incredulous but joyful mother.

Menéndez Pidal has a complete version of the ballad in *Flor nueva de romances viejos*,<sup>41</sup> and at least two Jewish versions have all the details of the story.<sup>42</sup> However, most of the peninsular versions (in octosyllabic verse) omit completely the background of the captivity of the girl and her mistreatment at the hands of the Moorish queen, but commence with the meeting of Don Bueso and the girl. Our version obscures the details of the captivity of the girl, and breaks off before her meeting with her brother; however, it does preserve some details not often encountered elsewhere: the build-up of the queen's addiction to drink, which accounts for her excessive rage and consequent cruelty.

The ballad has very limited diffusion in America.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to the foregoing ballads, the informant knew a great number of fragments of others, but they are omitted because they offer no interesting variants from standard versions.

*University of New Mexico  
University of North Carolina*

<sup>41</sup> Pp. 248-253.

<sup>42</sup> Catalogo, p. 165, no. 49; and a collection which I have not seen but which is cited by Bénichou: Abraham Danon, *Recueil de romances juive-spaçnoles chantées en Turquie*, in the *Revue des Études Juives*, 1896, no. 18.

<sup>43</sup> For data on American versions, see Ismael Moya, *op. cit.*, II, 167-175.

THE 400-YEAR ODYSSEY OF THE "CAPTAIN KIDD" SONG FAMILY—  
NOTABLY ITS RELIGIOUS BRANCH

By George Pullen Jackson

On May 23, 1701, Captain Kidd, whom some regarded as "one of God's finest gentlemen" and others as "a beast of prey," mounted the scaffold at Tyburn, just east of what is now Hyde Park in London. That was also the festive day when the 22-verse ballad 'Captain Kid's Farewel to the Seas' was first peddled around and sung — a song which may have sounded much as it did 150 years afterward when my mother, Ann Jane (Pullen) Jackson, learned it, and as I recorded it some years ago from her singing. My mother's version follows.

My name was Rob - ert Kidd as I sail'd, as I sail'd, My name was Rob - ert<sup>1)</sup>  
(d.c.) Most wick-ed-ly I did as I sail'd, as I sail'd, Most wick-ed - ly I  
D.C. al m  
Kidd as I sail'd. My name was Rob - ert Kidd, God's laws I did for - bid,  
did as I sail'd.

I shall try to show here that the ballad's construct — its stanzaic-melodic form and even its textual mood — appear in various combinations in many other songs which I shall call the Captain Kidd family.

The 'Farewel' song was not entirely new in the form sung at Kidd's hanging. Its broadside said that it was to be sung to the tune of 'Coming Down' which has been identified as the last-words song of the thieving chimney-sweep Jack Hall who had paid his debt to society at the same place but a few months before. The identification of 'Coming Down' as the Hall ballad appears in its last verse:

Up the ladder I did grope,  
That's no joke, that's no joke,  
Up the ladder I did grope, that's no joke.  
Up the ladder I did grope,  
And the hangman spread the rope,  
But never a word said I [I spoke?], coming down.

<sup>1</sup> The pirate was known to ballad singers on this side of the water as Robert. For details as to the original 'Farewel', the execution and what led to it, and for the story of how the folk, influenced strongly by the ballad, made Kidd over into the romantic figure generally recognized today, see Willard Hallam Bonner, *Pirate Laureate: The Life and Legends of Captain Kidd*, New Brunswick, New Jersey (Rutgers University Press), 1947. Bonner's footnotes provide an extensive and reliable Kidd bibliography.

Both the Kidd and the Hall ballads lived on and lent their one tune to other songs, many of them. Only a year later the melody was used for a ballad celebrating the last days and death (in the West Indies) of Admiral John Benbow:

Come all you sailors bold,  
Lend an ear, lend an ear, *etc.*

In those years when the Jacobites were active in Britain, the use of the Kidd (Hall) tune for political ends was to be expected. It has been found as the ground plan of three songs of this kind, all dating probably from the first decades of the eighteenth century. They are

'The Moderator's Dream'

When Soll to Thetis' Pool,  
Save the Queen, save the Queen, *etc.*

'Ye Jacobites by Name'

Ye Jacobites by name,  
Give an ear, give an ear, *etc.*

'Aikendrum'

Ken ye how to fight a whig,  
Aikendrum, Aikendrum? *etc.*

Some British students of folksong have pointed out the Kidd kindred just cited. Bertrand H. Bronson has collected them and some others yet to be considered here and has presented them in his excellent essay 'Samuel Hall's Family Tree' in the *California* (now *Western*) *Folklore Quarterly*, (1942), 47-64.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF YE ENGLYSHE IN 1849. NO. I.



A CYDRE CELLARE DVRYNG A COMYCK SONGE.

Later than the Jacobite times proper the melodic mold served three other seafarers as it had served John Benbow.

'Admiral Byng and Brave West'

I said unto brave West,  
Take the van, take the van, *etc.*<sup>2</sup>

'John Paul Jones'

You've all heard of [John] Paul Jones,  
Have you not, have you not.<sup>3</sup>

'The Battle of Copenhagen'

Of Nelson and the North  
Sing the day, [sing the day].<sup>4</sup>

Judged by textual surroundings such as we have already seen, the song-pattern might seem unsuited to love themes. Even so, I have come upon two 18th century love songs using it.

'My ain Kind Thing'

O hap me wi' thy petticoat,  
my ain kind thing.<sup>5</sup>

'The Taylor'

For weel he kend the way,  
O the way, O the way.<sup>6</sup>

For the 19th- and 20th-century Hall and Kidd songs themselves and for the other secular pieces (political, biographical, amatory, etc.) inspired by them, the reader is referred to Bronson's pages. I shall confine my remarks merely to the Kidd-influenced *religious* songs of the period, songs merely touched on by Bronson and later by Bonner (see footnote one).

The environment in which the religious folksongs developed, notably in America, was the New Light excitement which rose in New England in the 1740's and increased to a blistering heat by the end of that century in the riotous camp

<sup>2</sup> Admiral John Byng was shot in 1757 for naval failure before Minorca.

<sup>3</sup> This was of course the hero of the American Revolution or the "notorious pirate" depending on point of view.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bronson, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> The apparent deviation from norm in length of lines is offset by the tune which one may find in Joseph Ritson, *Scotish Songs*, second ed., Glasgow, 1869, vol. I, 81f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, edition of 1839, Edinburgh, song No. 490.

meetings of Kentucky and then over the land. I have already described this movement in my published works and told how the singing New Light zealots snatched literally hundreds of good tunes from the devil and put them to the Lord's use,<sup>7</sup> and how 'Captain Kidd' was one of their luckiest snatchings. So I need not repeat here but merely gather and list the songs by title and opening couplet for easier survey.<sup>8</sup> Here is the list.

'Honor to the Hills' (called in some songbooks 'Captain Kidd').

Through all the world below  
God is seen all around.<sup>9</sup>

'Remember Sinful Youth'

Remember sinful youth,  
You must die, you must die.<sup>10</sup>

'O He's Taken my Feet'

O he's taken my feet  
From the mire and the clay.<sup>11</sup>

'Come ye that Fear the Lord'

Come ye that fear the Lord,  
Unto me, unto me.<sup>12</sup>

'Will you Go'

We're trav'ling home to heav'n above,  
Will you go, will you go?<sup>13</sup>

'Be in Time'

The voice of wisdom hear,  
Be in time, be in time.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The folk-religious movement (really a radical Reformation) was treated in some detail in the first part of my *White and Negro Spirituals* (referred to hereinafter as *WNS*), New York (J. J. Augustin), 1943.

<sup>8</sup> They are gathered from my *Spiritual Folksongs of Early America* (*SFS*), New York (J. J. Augustin), 1937; *Down East Spirituals and Others* (*DES*), New York (J. J. Augustin, 1939; from *WNS* (*op. cit.*) and some other sources.

<sup>9</sup> From *SFS*, No. 142.

<sup>10</sup> *SFS*, No. 145.

<sup>11</sup> *SFS*, No. 232. This couplet is from the chorus. The two halves of the tune are in reverse position in *SFS*.

<sup>12</sup> *DES*, No. 272; also *WNS*, pp. 176 and 177.

<sup>13</sup> *DES*, No. 282.

<sup>14</sup> From Joseph Hillman's *The Revivalist*, Albany, N. Y., cop. 1868, No. 429.

## 'Come ye that Fear the Lord'

Come ye that fear the Lord,  
Unto me, unto me.<sup>15</sup>

## 'Drunkard's Burial'

Not a sigh was heard,  
Not a wailing note.<sup>16</sup>

## 'Wondrous Love'

What wondrous love is this,  
O my soul, O my soul!<sup>17</sup>

## 'Our Bondage'

Our bondage it shall end  
By and by, by and by.<sup>18</sup>

## 'Our Journey Home'

We shall see a light appear  
By and by, when he comes.<sup>19</sup>

## 'Mercy's Free'

What's this that in my soul is rising,  
Is it grace, is it grace?<sup>20</sup>

Among the 12 songs listed above one will have noticed that some fail to fit the precise Kidd formula in text rhythm. In such songs the departure from norm will be found corrected usually (as it was in 'My ain kind thing' above) by the tune. If not, it must be charged to the general principle of variation-within-unity, a rule familiar to students of folksong.

When did the New Lights make all these Kidd borrowings? We don't know definitely. We do know, however, that their borrowing-and-adapting habit began with the start of the folk-religious movement itself around the middle of the eighteenth century. We know also that, for the first fifty years of such singing, few of the hymns and none of the tunes were printed; that the very first

<sup>15</sup> This is a different version of the song by the title already listed. It was sung in England. See *Journal of the (English) Folk Dance and Song Society*, viii, 78.

<sup>16</sup> From John Gordon McCurry, *The Social Harp*, Andersonville, Georgia, printed in Philadelphia, 1855, p. 154.

<sup>17</sup> There are two melodic versions with this text: *SFS* No. 88, and *WNS*, p. 177.

<sup>18</sup> *DES*, No. 247.

<sup>19</sup> *DES*, No. 254.

<sup>20</sup> *DES*, No. 291.

book of New Light songs *with* tunes appeared in 1805;<sup>21</sup> and that the first two Kidd tunes in the list just given appeared in this book. (See cut of one of them 'Remember Sinful Youth' page 247 here.) We may safely assume then that American New Lights had sung along Kidd lines perhaps decades before 1805.

This thought as to the time element in song leads to another: a suspicion that the prevalence of our song pattern in the American religious environment may have been due not solely to its appearance with the Hall and Kidd songs but also to a still older folk-habit-in-structure which had been a form-giving factor for all the eighteenth-century songs we have mentioned *including* the 1701 Farewells. In following this thought we enter the pre-Kidd period and look for his lyric forebears.

For much information as to the Kidd-Hall ballad ancestry we are again in Bronson's debt. In his essay already cited he pointed to several seventeenth-century pieces which showed the pattern we are tracing. One was 'The Diggers' a song of the Social Levellers (1649-1652).

The gentry are all round,  
Stand up now, stand up now, *etc.*

Bronson cited another, directed to be sung to the 'Well-a-day' tune. I quote its last two verses.

You must die out of hand,  
Satanas, Satanas,  
This our Decree shall stand  
Without Controll,  
And we for you will pray,  
Because the scriptures say,  
When some men curse you, they  
Curse their own soul.

The Fiend to Tiburn's gone,  
There to die, there to die,  
Black is the North anon,  
Great storms will be:  
Therefore together now  
I leave him and th'Gallow:  
So Newes-man take 'em thou,  
Soon they'll take thee.

<sup>21</sup> It was Jeremiah Ingalls' *Christian Harmony*, Exeter, New Hampshire. More about the interesting man and his unique book in WNS, pp. 68ff.

With these Bronson shows clearly that the pattern<sup>22</sup> and much of the apparatus was there long before the balladeers of Hall and Kidd used them.

Farther back than the 17th century the traces of our song-mold become fewer, but remain just as distinct. British scholars<sup>23</sup> have pointed to the couplet (only) in the mid-sixteenth-century *Complaynt of Scotlande*:

My lufe is lyand seik,  
Send him ioy, send him ioy.

and they have seen its possible link with the much later (18th century)

My luve's in Germanie,  
Send him hame, send him hame.<sup>24</sup>

Bronson shows possible intermediate steps of the same ballad sequence in the Orkney version of 'Germany Thomas' and in the old Irish 'They say my love is dead' (a Kidd tune with no words).

English students of folksong have also called attention to the pattern as seen in the 16th-century *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* and mentioned in my *DES*, p. 261.

All my lufe, leif me not,  
Leif me not, leif me not.

and they see in this a religious parody of some foregoing song of earthly love.

But there is still another song in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, one highly significant in this connection, which has escaped the notice of scholars.

Remember man, remember man,  
That I thy saule fra Sathan wan,  
And hes done for thé that I can;  
Thow art full deir to me.  
Is, was, nor salbe none,  
That may thé saif, bot I allone,  
Onlie thairfair beleue me on,  
And thow shall never die.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The pre-Kidd pattern, here as elsewhere, will be seen to vary from that in post-Kidd times in only one unimportant detail, the presence of an up-beat syllable at the beginning of the fourth and last lines.

<sup>23</sup> Notable among them is Anne G. Gilchrist.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *DES*, p. 259ff.

<sup>25</sup> From the A. F. Mitchell edition, Scottish Text Society series, of *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, Edinburgh and London, 1896-1897, p. 200.

## Sinful Youth.

39



The thirteen-verse song is a typical early-Reformation defense of the belief of man's immediate responsibility before God and a polemic against different tenets and practices of the historic Church. Some sixty years later, that is in 1611, Ravenscroft printed in his *Melismata* a song 'Remember O Thou Man' which Mitchell (*Ballatis* editor) recognized as an offspring of the *Gude and Godlie* 'Remember Man.' The chief significance of these two related songs lies in the fact that both show remote ancestral traits of 'Remember Sinful Youth.' Their relationship may be checked by a comparison of the following.

*Remember O Thou Man* (1611)

Remember, O thou man,  
 O thou man, O thou man,  
 Remember, O thou man,  
 Thy time is spent.  
 Remember, O thou man,  
 How thou camest to me than,  
 And I did what I can,  
 Therefore repent.<sup>26</sup>

*Remember Sinful Youth* (18th cent.)

Remember sinful youth,  
 You must die, you must die,  
 Remember sinful youth,  
 You must die.  
 Remember sinful youth,  
 Who hate the way of truth,  
 And in your pleasures boast,  
 You must die.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> I quote from A. H. Bullen, *A Christmas Garland, Carols and Poems etc.*, London, 1885. Bullen found it in Thomas Ravenscroft, *Melismata: Musical Phancies, Fitting the Court Citie, and Country Humours*, London, 1611. Bullen modernized the song's orthography and printed ten verses. The Ravenscroft tune is rather remote in trend from all the other extant Kidd melodies — all of them of later emergence.

<sup>27</sup> Taken from the Ingalls book already mentioned, p. 39. Bronson saw the first-verse resemblance which we have just emphasized but he overlooked the even closer whole-song kinship of 'Sinful Youth' to the much earlier 'Remember Man' song.

The 'Sinful Youth' offspring of the mid-sixteenth-century 'Remember Man' may be heard today in the spring singings of the *Southern Harmony* folk in Benton, Kentucky. It has lived these four hundred years as an oral tradition. Its few appearances in print have been insignificant as contrasted to its wide oral vogue.

Well, what of it? After making such a little study as this I am tempted to ask myself what is its value? What good is it to bring concrete evidence that, for four hundred years at least, the masses of our British and American forebears have expressed feelings and thoughts — usually those of a tragic sort — in a pattern which apparently has changed during that period as little as has the tongue in which it was sung?

I leave the question open. Answers would be endlessly various. My own feeling, however, is that such glimpses into the past help us in adding that rare third dimension to our concept of our segment of human culture.

*Vanderbilt University*

### Announcement

#### THE CHICAGO FOLKLORE PRIZE

It was established by the International Folklore Association and is awarded annually by the University of Chicago for an important contribution to the study of folklore. Students, candidates for higher degrees, and established scholars may compete for the Prize. The contribution may be a monograph, thesis, essay, article, or a collection of materials. No restriction is placed on the contestant's choice of topic or selection of material: the term "folklore" is here used in its broadest sense (e.g. American, European, etc. folklore; anthropological, literary, religious, etc. folklore).

It is permissible to submit material which has appeared in print, provided that such material be submitted within one year from the time of publication. The successful contestant who submits material in typed form and has this material published subsequently is expected to send a copy of the printed monograph, etc. to the University of Chicago, for the library. If the contestant wishes to have his material returned, sufficient postage should be included. Monographs and collections, etc., must be submitted before May 16, 1952, to the Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, The University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill. The Chicago Folklore Prize is a cash reward of about \$50.00. The recipient's name is published in the Convocation Statement in June.

## THE MIDDLE ENGLISH "OON SLETH THE DEER WYTH AN HOOKID ARWE"

By R. H. Bowers

Among the hitherto unprinted Middle English ballads and poems preserved mainly in fifteenth century manuscript (apograph?) copies in the principal libraries of Great Britain is the anonymous rime royal poem of three stanzas whose title is supplied as above from the incipit by Brown and Robbins (*The Index of ME Verse*, N. Y., 1943, No. 2696). The poem is secular and may be compared in its sober, precautionary mood with Lydgate's secular poems in the edition prepared for *The Early English Text Society* in 1933 (OS No. 199) by Henry N. MacCracken. The unique copy is preserved in Harley MS 2202, fol. 72<sup>r</sup>, and is reproduced below with editorial pointing and capitalization through the kindness of the authorities of the British Museum. I would judge that the script is well on in the fifteenth century: it is loose and cursive and probably not the hand of a professional scribe. The writing may possibly be early sixteenth century since the scribe writes such forms as *the*, *that*, *hath* without the thorn.

The imagery of the initial stanza, which is certainly the best of the three, is taken from the area of hunting and fishing; it strikes me as both vivid and apposite, and alone would justify printing the poem. In the second stanza the images become trite and hackneyed; and there is a lapse of logic in line 12 where the poet apparently contradicts the tenor of the stanza as a whole. The third stanza is mediocre and unimaginative, exhibiting typical fifteenth century moralizing unrelieved by any fresh figures or phrases. Probably some of the poem has been lost, for the ending — if one can call it an ending — comes most abruptly.

- 1 Oon sleth the deer wythe an hookid arwe  
Whos part is noon yit of the venyson.  
Oon bet the bushe, another hath the spawroy  
[And] all the birds in is possession.
- 5 Oon draweth his netis in riners up & don  
Wyth sondri baites cast out line & hook,  
And hath no part of al that euer he took.

Thou that roses at midsomer be ful soote  
Yit vndernethe is hade a full sharp spine.  
10 Summe fresh floures han a full bittir roote  
And lothsume gall can suger eek vndermyne.  
In dredfull stormys the son among doth shyn.

& vnder a shadwe of feyned frendlyhood  
Ther is no frendshyp so pereilous for to dred.

15 Wen resone faylith & sensibalite  
Holdyth the brydle of lecherous insolent,  
And sobernes hath lost is liberte  
& to fall to lvste it doyne the reuerens,  
And vice of vertue hathe an apparent  
20 Missledith persons of wylfull reklesnesse  
To gret errore of froward iedlenes.

(British Museum MS Harley 2202, fol 72<sup>r</sup>  
*University of Florida*

1.4 MS damaged. ] MS *is*; read "his" as on line 17 below.  
 1.11 MS *eek* (?). Possibly read *sak*, although the initial stroke is unlike the initial *s* elsewhere used by the scribe.  
 1.18 MS has a virgule separating *fall* from *to*.  
 1.19 MS *apparent* = "appearance."  
 11.15-21 The third stanza is patterned on the ME "prophecy" formula: cf. Caxton's *Sayings*: Whan feyth faileth in prestes sawes,/ And lordes hestes ar holden for lawes/. . . Than shal the lond of Albyon/ Be brought to grete confusoun (reprinted in W. W. Skeat [ed.], *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, Oxford, 1897, p. 450). The standard history of the genre is that of Rupert Taylor, *The Political Prophecy in England* (Columbia Univ. diss., 1911).

FOUR PLANTATION SONGS NOTED BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

By Norris Yates

On his way North in the spring of 1843 after a winter sojourn in Florida Bryant stopped for several days at a South Carolina plantation where he witnessed a corn-shucking, arranged for his benefit by the obliging proprietor. In that section of his *A Tour of the Old South* dated "Barnwell District, South Carolina, March 29,"<sup>1</sup> the poet describes how:

"The negroes began to strip the husks from the ears, singing with great glee as they worked, keeping time to the music . . . the songs were generally of a comic character; but one of them was set to a singularly wild and plaintive air, which some of our musicians would do well to reduce to notation.

**These are the words:**

'Johnny come down de hollow.  
Oh, hollow!  
Johnny come down de hollow.  
Oh, hollow!  
De nigger-trader got me.  
Oh, hollow!  
De speculator bought me.  
Oh, hollow!  
I'm sold for silver dollars.  
Oh, hollow!  
Boys, go catch de pony.  
Oh, hollow!  
Bring him round de corner.  
Oh, hollow!  
I'm goin' away to Georgia.  
Oh, hollow!  
Boys, good-by forever.  
Oh, hollow!'"

This sixth and seventh lines may well be expressive of an intent to escape. In that case the eighth line could indicate a lack of real conviction that escape was possible, or it could be an example of protective symbolism — the use of one word, "Georgia," to mean another, i.e., the North in general or a given point in free territory.

<sup>1</sup> In *Prose Writings*; ed. by Parke Godwin, D. Appleton and Company, Vol. II, pp. 31-33. Other citations are from this section unless otherwise indicated.

Of another song Bryant unfortunately noted only the refrain: "Jenny gone away." Since Bryant the Northerner might well be expected to have difficulty understanding the broad speech of South Carolina Negroes, it is just possible that he may have heard an early version of "The Blue-Tailed Fly" in which the refrain ran:

"Jinny Crack Corn, I don't care,  
"Jinny Crack Corn, I don't care,  
"Jinny Crack Corn, I don't care,  
For massa's gone away."<sup>2</sup>

Jenny, of course, is a name common in minstrel and folk songs.

At the "shuckin'" Bryant also heard:

". . . another, called the monkey-song, probably of African origin, in which the singer personated a monkey, with all sorts of odd gesticulations, and the other negroes bore part in the chorus 'Dan, Dan, who's de Dandy?'"

The minstrel ballad of "Dandy Jim of Caroline" at once comes to mind, but Bryant's description does not indicate any relation between the two songs.

With regard to the fourth song, the poet's language does not show clearly whether he actually heard it sung by the slaves or whether he got it at second hand from his host, although one may suppose he heard it on the same evening as the others:

"One of the songs commonly sung on these occasions represents the various animals of the woods as belonging to some profession or trade. For example:

'De cooter is de boatman  
John, John Crow.  
De red-bird de soger  
John, John Crow.  
De mockingbird de lawyer  
John, John Crow.  
De alligator sawyer.  
John, John Crow.'"

Among the many Negro songs about animals I have found no others in which this particular technique of applying a single descriptive metaphor to each of

<sup>2</sup> *The Negro Melodist*; U. P. James, Cincinnati, 186-?, pp. 49-50. This book of minstrel songs also includes a version with the refrain: "Jim Crack Corn," pp. 50-51.

several species is manifest. There is a suggestion of it in two songs in *Christy's Plantation Melodies*, Book No. 5:<sup>3</sup> "The Menagerie (pp. 43-44)," and "Old King Crow (p. 45)," who is "the biggest thief I know." Like Jenny, the cooter (terrapin) and the red-bird recur frequently in Negro songs.

It is to be noted that the four pieces heard by Bryant were sung as work songs, though the texts would indicate that they were not necessarily such. After the actual work of husking the corn was done the slaves adjourned to a "spacious kitchen," where, after some dancing, they staged "a mock military parade, a sort of burlesque of our militia trainings," following which the Negro "commander" parodied the stump speeches of white orators. One could wish that the poet had noted down more of this last effort than a few scattered references to "'de majority of Sous Carolina,'" "'de interests of de State,'" and "'de honor of Ole Barnwell district,'" even as one could desire that the tang and savor, if not the substance, of local idiom were more in evidence in his poetry.

Bryant's host on this occasion may have been William Gilmore Simms, whose plantation, "Woodlawn," was located within the Barnwell district. The poet had undertaken his trip at the invitation of the Carolina novelist,<sup>4</sup> and Simms' biographer, William Peterfield Trent, listed Bryant as one of the many guests who enjoyed his hospitality at one time or another. Trent also mentioned the singing and banjo playing of the Negroes on the Simms plantation.<sup>5</sup>

*New York University*

<sup>3</sup> Fisher and Brother, Philadelphia, 1851.

<sup>4</sup> Charles I. Glicksberg: "Letters of William Cullen Bryant From Florida," *Florida Hist. Soc. Qu.*, XIV (1936), p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> William Gilmore Simms; Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1892, pp. 96-7, 99.

## A FOLK MOTIF: THE FACE IN THE WINDOW

By Mildred M. Nelson

A folk motif<sup>1</sup> of possibly no more than local distribution is popular in Alabama.<sup>2</sup> Although a comparatively young motif not definitely known to exist earlier than 1878, some form of it is evidenced in many sections of the state. Images are said to have been found in the vicinity of Clio, Carrollton, Clayton, Eufaula, Union Springs, Gadsden, Fort Payne, Orrville, and Collinsville, Alabama. It is popular, not only as the-face-in-the-window motif, but also as a tale type of a legend known to have originated at the Courthouse of Pickens County, Carrollton, Alabama. Unusual variants of the rather well known legend recently have been collected and analyzed with the intention of revealing the tale in the making as it grows out of a fact.<sup>3</sup> In the legend the face serves as a permanent reminder of miscarried justice with the intention of threatening or warning, keeping before the guilty a likeness of the abused innocent. But as a motif which stands alone, it bears no such implications. It relates an awful phenomenon of nature: lightning photographs an image on a pane of glass. The examples here noted set forth, primarily, the motif which never becomes a part of a legend and include, secondarily, variations bearing a limited resemblance to it. The incidents growing out of superstitions which employ the face motif and the few exceptional ones that have been borrowed by other tales are deviations from the most common pattern. The tales and parts of tales which follow, therefore, contribute to the making, not of a legend, but rather of a single motif which generally stands alone, although it sometimes appears in other legends as a possible borrowing. The variants will be recorded as they relate images imprinted upon mirrors and upon window panes. The instances here noted have in common the follow characteristics: likenesses of people by some phenomenon, generally lightning, are photographed on glass, either mirror or window pane. Interest in the variants

<sup>1</sup> The motif is the smallest element in a tale having a power to persist in tradition. The three classes of motifs are (1) actors in the tales, as the cruel step-mother; (2) items in the background of the action, as magic objects; and (3) single incidents which can have independent existence, and which can sometimes serve as true tale types. Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), pp. 415-416. Certainly the motif under scrutiny belongs to the third class for there are numerous instances of its separate existence, while at the same time it has become identified as a tale type of a simple legend. Everywhere the phenomenon occurs it marks the location with legendary identification, but it remains a single motif in no way developed unless it is associated with guilt.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Stith Thompson's *Motif Index of Folk Literature* lists no similar motifs, the closest being D 1654.8, which refers to a picture that cannot be removed from a ship, III, 366.

<sup>3</sup> An analysis of the Carrollton legend entitled "A Tale in the Making: The Face in the Window" was published in the *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, XII (December, 1948), 241-257.

here accumulated stems from their persistence to exist, fragmentary as many of them are, whether they lend themselves to legends or remain single motifs.

Some of the variants — having no more in common with the photographic lightning motif than a belief that a likeness can be permanently imprinted on a mirror — show kinship with a superstition known in this area. The superstition cautions one to turn all mirrors to the walls in a death room because of the belief that mirrors may permanently reflect a likeness of the dead — even a glass on a framed picture can in a certain light reflect the likeness. One brief example of this superstition verifies that the room in which a woman was "laid out," the woman in her coffin, and the funeral flowers were reflected in a mirror. Relatives washed the mirror time and time again; they removed and replaced it; but the image always reappeared.<sup>4</sup> A detailed incident which has evidently combined photographic lightning with the previously mentioned superstition follows:

#### A Picture on a Mirror

The story is told of a picture printed on a mirror of an old dressing table. This particular mirror is in a Negro shack in the small town of Orrville, Alabama. The people there tell this peculiar story.

The owner of the shack, a Negro man, had died. One night while some of his close friends were "sitting up" with his corpse there was a terrible storm. The trees around the house swayed, the limbs cracked and fell, the wind howled, and bolts of lightning flashed all around. When the storm had finally subsided, the Negroes in the room noticed that during the storm a perfect image of the dead Negro had been stamped on the lower right corner of the mirror. To this day the picture can be seen almost as clearly as the day the picture was put there. The people, especially the Negroes, like to tell you about the picture that lightning made.<sup>5</sup>

Continuing the variants of images imprinted upon mirrors is a tale which combines circumstances akin to the superstition with characteristics of the popular Carrollton legend. The image of the dying body reflected on a mirror in the death room is characteristic of the superstition. The image of a person who has vowed his innocence of crime, has predicted a sign to prove his innocence, has been photographed by lightning permanently on a mirror is characteristic of the Carrollton legend.

<sup>4</sup> Related by Mrs. Claire S. Newby, Prattville, Alabama.

<sup>5</sup> Related to Mary C. Holston by Mrs. L. J. Smith, Orrville, Alabama. This and all versions following are quoted verbatim unless otherwise indicated.

### The Tale

During his lifetime, my maternal grandfather, James T. Tillery, Sr., late of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, related to the children of our family many tales of folklore. Among those that I best remember is the one which follows:

In a small room of a very poorly furnished log house located in the wilderness of a central Alabama county, a man lay on his death bed. He had been shot by a posse that had pursued him in connection with a murder which the people alleged he had committed. Across the room was a dresser with a large mirror that reflected the body of the man.

Knowing that he was dying, the man mumbled to his wife that he was innocent and that he was going to cast a "curse" upon the people of the county for the injustice which he received. As soon as he had uttered these words, there was a flash of lightning which seemed to have burst into the room. Almost simultaneous with the flash, the man died.

Upon returning from the funeral, the dead man's widow noticed that an unusually oily shadow covered a portion of the mirror. A closer examination revealed that the shadow was an image of her husband's body as it had been reflected by the mirror at the time of the flash. Apparently this was a reminder of the "curse" to those who had thought him guilty. This story was authenticated by people who later visited the widow at her home.<sup>6</sup>

And here follows a fragment very slightly related to the motif, conveying no more than a statement of an image permanently impressed upon a mirror:

### Another Mirror Story

A pier mirror in possession of the Dix's several miles south of Eufaula caused excitement. Every time anyone looked into the mirror they would see a skeleton. The family became sensitive about it and sold it to a man in New York for a big price. The cause — certain condition of the sun rays on the mirror.<sup>7</sup>

Here is related a complete pattern of the motif untouched by the superstition, unattached to the legend or any other legend: an individual is photographed by lightning on a mirror.

### Lightning Photography

When the Craven's son became ill with typhoid fever, Mrs. Edmondson invited his little sisters, Alida and Sallie May to visit in her home.

\* Issac Nelson, University of Alabama, Montgomery Center.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Gertha Couric, Columbus, Georgia.

About mid-afternoon of the first day of their visit, an electrical storm interrupted the children in their play. While Mrs. Edmondson was telling stories to distract them, lightning struck and set fire to the house. After the fire was put out, Mrs. Edmondson discovered a photograph of Sallie May on the long mirror in the hall.

Many people came to see the lightning made picture. Mrs. Agusta Evans Wilson, who used a similar motif in her book *At the Mercy of Tiberius*, invited the child to her home in Mobile that she might witness more evidence to justify her severly criticized guilt-revealed-by-lightning episode.<sup>8</sup>

Mirrors have contributed variation to the motif; and it will be noted that in three of the preceding instances lightning is the means of photographing the mirrors. It is true that the face photographed by lightning on a window pane is the most widely spread pattern.<sup>9</sup> Other variants, however, recording the window pane as the surface imprinted, yet employing means of photography other than lightning will also bear consideration. The two examples which follow, while not indicating the means of photography, reveal the face to be permanently imprinted upon a window pane:

#### The Face in the Window

The story goes that three generations ago in Collinsville, Alabama, on a young girl's wedding day her fiance was killed by a run-away horse.<sup>10</sup> He was buried in a cemetery just across the road from her house. The girls stood at her window and looked at his grave so long that she grieved herself to death. An image of this girl with red hair, wearing a blue dress appeared on the window. The glass has been replaced several times, but the image always returns.<sup>11</sup>

#### Image on the Window Pane

From the past this legend has been told through our generation, and now I will tell it to you.

Many years ago in an old two-story colonial home, lived a man and his wife. One night in their bedroom she accused him of being untrue to her.

<sup>8</sup> Condensed from a version reported by Mrs. Gertha Couric, Federal Writer's Project file, Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. In conference Mrs. Sallie May Boundy, the subject photographed at Eufaula, indicated that she had written and published her story in a pamphlet "Stories of Life."

<sup>9</sup> The Carrollton legend with its variations, known and related by almost any Alabamian, has made this pattern of motif popular.

<sup>10</sup> One version submitted by Jean Stanley, Scottsboro, Alabama, states that the girl's parents were killed instead of the lover.

<sup>11</sup> Mrs. W. D. Stanley, Scottsboro, Alabama.

This caused an argument between the two. His threat to kill her during the dispute, caused her to commit suicide by jumping out the window.

Later he remarried and before bringing his new wife into his home, he had the window pane replaced. On this pane was the image of his deceased wife. He changed the panes again and again, but still the image returned. It has been said that she had told him before leaping out the window, "You'll never forget me." This, I suppose, was her way of punishing him for his unfaithfulness.<sup>12</sup>

The preceding tale does not in every sense deal with the subject matter of the face-in-the-window motif. It has some qualities in common with "The Tale of the White Dove" (Carmer, *Stars Fell on Alabama*, pp. 120-121) in which the first wife returns as a white dove, greatly concerning the second wife and the husband. The expression of guilt and the photograph as a permanent reminder of it, however, are conditions ever present in the Carrollton legend. Farther removed from the popular photographic motif are two instances of permanent images conveying the impression of guilt. One, the face of a mistreated wife, appears upon a saucer; the other, the face of a cruel woman, is painted upon a window:

#### The Face in the Saucer

In De Kalb County a man whose wife was very sick went to get a doctor. After asking the doctor to call upon his wife, the man stopped at a friend's house to eat dinner. While he was drinking his coffee which he had poured into his saucer he saw a strange sight. As he drained it, he saw his wife's face. When he got home his wife was dead. But it is said that the face still remains in the saucer.

#### The Face in the Window

The story of the face came to me in Fort Payne, Alabama. I was told that in an attic window of a small house about one and one-half miles south of Collinsville was the face of a woman who had come to that house to live, bringing with her a little child. She was so cruel to the child that people believed she had kidnapped it. The child died and the woman disappeared, but her face came on the window pane when she left.

Later, about 1931, on the way to a club meeting at Jasper, I called attention of all in the car to the picture in the window as we passed it. Mrs. A. E. Hawkins, who was with us, said that she knew the woman who had painted it there, an art teacher in Collinsville. The only remarkable thing about it,

<sup>12</sup> Rilla Mae Rice, Fort Payne, Alabama.

she told us, was the fact that the artist had painted it on the inside with the face looking out.<sup>13</sup>

Digressing even more from the subject matter of the popular motif is an incident which bears no similarity except in the reminder of guilt evidenced by a permanent likeness — of the devil — not on a window, but on a tombstone:

#### The Devil's Picture

Just outside Clayton, Alabama, there is a grave of a woman who had not lived a good and noble life; however, when she died, her family, even though much ashamed of her, gave her a decent funeral. After a month or so the devil leaning over her grave appeared on her tombstone. Thinking this a "happen so" of nature, the family had it removed. Later it appeared again and was removed. This kept being repeated and the saying is that you can see it today even though it happened over a hundred years ago.<sup>14</sup>

Returning to distinguishing characteristics of the photographic motif, here follow two instances that remain single motifs and, at the same time, possess all of the qualities evident in the popular, better known version — individuals are photographed on window panes by lightning:

. . . There was a pane of glass in the home of my grandfather, Dr. Norborne B. Powell, of Chunnenuggee, which was said to have been a likeness of my grandmother, made by lightning. My brother, Dr. Edward H. Cary, of this city (Dallas) bought it from the owner of that home in 1911 and brought it to Dallas. Later, he sent it to Mrs. Owens for the Alabama Archives but on my last visit to her several years ago, she told me someone had disposed of it, not knowing that it had any value. We regretted it very much as it seemed to interest a great many people. . . . The older members of the Powell family had never known of such a phenomenon, as stated by one of Dr. Powell's granddaughters, Mrs. Ida Blackmore Couper, who lived to be eighty-eight years old, who passed away in Florida only a few years ago. That does not prove, however, that it did not happen. My brother, Dr. Edward H. Cary, insists it was the picture of our grandmother Powell, but I thought it looked more like an old man who lived in the Powell home when I was a child in Union Springs. . . .<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Related by Mrs. Willie H. Driskill, Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Previously from De Kalb County. Mrs. Driskill at one time taught in an Opportunity School for adults who could not read or write. She learned from her students many interesting bits of folklore.

<sup>14</sup> Related to Alice Bland by Sue Wood of Abbeville, Alabama.

<sup>15</sup> Excerpts from letters received from Mrs. Lucile Cary Lowry, 1503 McKell Street, Dallas, Texas.

### Picture on the Window

Near Gadsden, Alabama, this folktale has been told. During an electrical storm a young man stopped at an old house to sleep in order to escape the rain and the storm. The house gave a haunted atmosphere since it was a dull gray and full of cobwebs. The young man ventured in and went to bed. During the night he had an odd dream. He dreamed of a beautiful girl. . . . A flash of lightning burst forth and cast light upon the window. The man saw the girl of his dream upon the window.<sup>16</sup>

All of the instances here listed of photographs — (1) by lightning combined with superstition, (2) by lightning on a mirror, (3) by some unnamed means on window panes, and (4) by lightning on window panes — reveal awe caused by a phenomenon of nature. Many instances indicate that people marvel at the comparative permanency of the image, and some record attempts to remove the likeness. If guilt is involved, the simple motif takes on a threat and warning, becomes more complex.

Since this slight and possibly localized motif is comparatively young, a thorough study of it is inconsequential. A young motif may or may not stand the test of time. Evidence of the motif is here collected, not to foretell its permanency, but to reveal its persistence to date and to verify local interest in its unusual qualities. The distribution of the motif as far as this study can discern is rather scattered throughout the state. It is said to have taken place in Pickens, De Kalb, Etowah, Dallas, Barbour, and Bullock counties with marked variety among the recurrences particularly in De Kalb and Barbour counties. The path of dissemination is unintelligible to a certain extent because of its connection with some natural phenomenon which is likely to occur anywhere. Especially noteworthy is the fact that many instances of this phenomenon occur in Alabama.<sup>17</sup> The origin is equally difficult to discern, not as to time and place, but as to whether it is fact or fiction. Has some natural phenomenon actually created the motif, or has the folk imagination conditioned by awful respect for nature and influenced by some blemish upon the glass given rise to these incidents? A newspaper article entitled "Lightning Makes Its Imprints upon Windows in Homes" supplies personal references to establish authentic proof of the

<sup>16</sup> Betty Persons, Macon, Georgia.

<sup>17</sup> An instance reported from another state is said to have taken place during a lynching in Chickasaw County, Mississippi; however, the court clerk who was present at the lynching indicates that no photograph by lightning occurred in connection with this incident. Since Chickasaw County is no more than two counties removed from Pickens County, the Carrollton legend may have combined with a Mississippi tale.

photographs. It then relates the Powell and Edmondson stories.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, during January of 1949 police found it necessary to deny the presence of "a face in the window" in Tuscaloosa:

#### 'FACE IN THE WINDOW' DEBUNKED BY POLICE

"Totally unfounded" was the police report today on a strange "face in the window" story told about the home of a critically ill negro man on 18th Street, near 29th Avenue. Police Officer W. C. Tompkins, Jr., said he investigated the report and found the story to be "wholly untrue."

A rumor, apparently started among the negro residents, was that of the face of the man's wife, who died 35 years ago, would appear on a window. Officer Tompkins said the rumored "face" was merely the shadow caused by a door screen when a porch light was turned on. The negro man, Will Griffin, 60, retired G. & O. fireman, is in a critical condition, and the family requests that no visitors come to the home, a relative said.<sup>19</sup>

Some believe. Some do not. One cannot completely disregard the beliefs of the people. A study of the culture of any people reveals the inclination to explain or give reason for that which exists — even a blemish on a piece of glass. Another marked inclination is that of admiring the marvelous powers of nature, even exaggerating them. Whatever the explanation may be, the people have felt enough fascination for, or possibly belief in, the happenings to keep them alive by repeating them, and thus have established the face-in-the-window motif. Whenever the motif is combined with a situation inspiring a sense of guilt and twinges of conscience, it develops into a tale. Without the combination, however, it remains a motif with unusual and striking characteristics, unique in its revelation of a natural phenomenon.\*

*University of Alabama*

<sup>18</sup>Dr. James A. Glen, "Lightning Makes Its Imprints upon Windows in Homes," *Birmingham News and Age Herald* (April 2, 1928).

<sup>19</sup>\_\_\_\_\_, "'Face in the Window' Debunked by Police," *Tuscaloosa News* (January 17, 1949).

\* I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Department of Archives and History; the Departments of English of English of Huntingdon College, University of Alabama, University Center — Montgomery; and of the individual informants with whom I have had interviews or have corresponded. Especially do I appreciate the aid of the University of Alabama Research Committee which has made this and other short studies possible.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*English Riddles from Oral Tradition.* By Archer Taylor. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951. xxxi, 959 pp. \$10.00.

This work is another excellent link in the long chain of scholarly attainments of Professor Archer Taylor. One need only thumb through it to realize what a great amount of effort and detailed work must have gone into its preparation. It is indeed a lasting tribute to the patience and earnest desire of the author to place worthy examples of scholarship in the field of folklore at the disposal of other specialists in the field. Riddle enthusiasts now have something solid in English into which they may sink their "riddling" teeth.

The work is intended to provide a corpus of English traditional riddling and have a place beside collections in German, French, Italian, Polish, Russian, and Bulgarian. It does *not* contain enigmatic and puzzling questions of *all types*. Professor Taylor has limited his entries to what he calls the "true riddle." "True riddles are descriptions of objects in terms intended to suggest something entirely different" (p. 1). The "neck-riddle"—Taylor's invented name for the insolvable puzzle posed by one condemned to death so as to escape the gallows—the arithmetical puzzle, Biblical riddles requiring special knowledge, conundrums or witty questions and other minor genres have been reserved for collection and study on future occasions. This reservation undoubtedly has been a wise one. We might otherwise have waited indefinitely for a definitive work in English on the subject of riddling.

The first substantial part of the book is an "Analytical Table" (pp. xiii-xxxi). This is a breakdown of the 1749 English riddles which are divided into eleven chapters. It is not an index of individual riddles, but rather an outline of the material treated in each chapter. The "Introduction" (pp. 1-7) is brief but sufficient.

The material for the eleven chapters (pp. 9-688) is divided as follows: I. Comparisons to a Living Creature; II. Comparisons to an Animal; III. Comparisons to Several Animals; IV. Comparisons to a Person; V. Comparisons to Several Persons; VI. Comparisons to Plants; VII. Comparisons to Things; VIII. Enumerations of Comparisons; IX. Enumerations in Terms of Form or of Form and Function; X. Enumerations in Terms of Color; XI. Enumerations in Terms of Acts. The author lists each riddle by number and provides us with the source. Whenever possible, variants or useful comments are given. A running bibliography is maintained throughout.

The "Notes" (pp. 691-868) follow according to the chapter and the number

of the riddle for which Professor Taylor has information on a comparative basis. Here the author has attempted to survey the distribution of specific riddles, but has not aimed to effect completeness. The "Notes," however, are very informative. Here is very welcome material for the student interested in this particular field of study.

The "Collections of Riddles Cited" (pp. 871-897) — listed alphabetically according to author — is imposing to say the least. The neophyte riddler has, in this instance, a starting list that would serve a lifetime and still not be completely consumed. The material covers a rather wide spread of languages. These have been listed additionally under "Collections Arranged According to Languages" (pp. 899-902). The names following the specific language refer to the authors in the preceding alphabetical list of collections.

The "Index of Solutions" is very complete if one knows the answer to the riddle sought. Should one not know the answer, but rather have only a hazy idea of the riddle and a key word or two, one will have a difficult time in locating the desired riddle. This is perhaps a minor point, but all too frequently a necessary one for the comparative study of riddles for which this work may serve as an outstanding source.

This latest contribution from the hand of Archer Taylor should find its way ultimately into the hands of every folklorist. The well grounded student in this field cannot afford not to have it at his disposal. Sooner or later he will find it of value in many ways other than looking for information on a specific riddle.

Stuart A. Gallacher

*Michigan State College*

*A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong.* By Charles Haywood. New York: Greenberg, Publisher, 1951. xxx, 1292 pp. \$27.50.

This vast and ambitious bibliography seeks to cover the entire range of traditional lore in the United States (and Canada), song, dance, tale, speech, the Indian, the Negro, European and Asiatic, regional and occupational groups. European folklorists might quarrel that the emphasis falls so heavily on oral rather than material tradition, but that emphasis reflects present American research. The planning of these many thousands of entries has admirably succeeded in combining the topical, the ethnic, and the geographical approaches. One major division comprises regions, subdivided into states, each in turn subdivided into subject headings. Cowboys, lumberjacks, hoboes are separately

treated in an occupational division. French-Canadians and Pennsylvania Germans can be found under the ethnic division. The Indian has his own half of the volume, with regional, tribal, and topical subgroupings. While the Negro is placed under Ethnic, he receives so much space, especially for his folksongs, as virtually to possess his own division. This comprehensive scheme properly respects the several useful perspectives on American folk culture, all of which must somehow be recognized in a thoroughgoing reference work.

Certain features deserve the highest praise. One observes with pleasure the inclusion of titles on English, Scottish, and Irish folklore; of a topic on "American Characters" and on our wars (both set under a Miscellaneous Division); of extensive alphabetical lists of records, albums, and musical arrangements; of a fine series of Indian anecdotes from early periodicals (thanks to the New York University library catalogue), and of romantic as well as ethnological versions of Indian legends; of general bibliographical aids preceding the individual folklore titles.

In a compilation of this sort, with the formidable opportunities for error, the pointing out of occasional lapses would be picayune. However the number and seriousness of the mistakes are such as seriously to vitiate the value of the work, since our first requirement must be bibliographical accuracy. We find the same book described in different styles: Constance Rourke's *American Humor* stands in two forms, both incorrect (33, 703); Stith Thompson's *Motif-Index* becomes a "Motive-Index" on p. 69, with two discrepancies from the data given on p. 4; Richard Chase's *The Jack Tales* (239) is simply *Jack Tales* (279) with altered page figures; *The Big Bonanza* is given in one place under Dan DeQuille, and three pages later (394) under DeQuille's real name, William Wright, while the 488 pages are now xli, 439; similarly Josef Berger and his pseudonym Jeremiah Digges are separately used for the same work (26, 655) with variations in the title; *The Early Naval Ballads of England* has J. O. Halliwell as editor in one place (661) and James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips in another (717) — he went by both names, but not at the same time; *The Folktale* is 1946 and 510 pages on p. 22, and 1947 and 522 pages on p. 24; Frank Tripplett on p. 704 is Triplett on p. 705; *Tall Tales of Arkansaw* on p. 250 is *Tall Tales of Arkansas* in the next column.

Authors are misspelled: Clealand for Cleland, 376, 611; Grunbie for Greenbie, 701; Mallock for Malloch, 691; Gillmore for Gillmor, 337; Arli for Aili Johnson, 311; Joffie for Yoffie, 318; Quarley for Qualey, 579; Hazlett for Hazlitt, 8; Wimberley for Wimberly, 103; Gerrard for Garrard, 597; Segourney for Sigourney, 54. Sometimes the errors are larger, and Rusk becomes Raine, 295,

and is so listed in the index, along with his other self; Rhys is Rhip on 64; Blegen and Ruud is Blegen and Rand, 579. Titles of books are incorrect: *Brown Copper* stands for *Boom Copper*, 644; *Books of Noodles* for *The Book of Noodles*, 27; *Child Book of Folklore* for *The Child's Book of Folklore*, 13; the Aarne-Thompson index is pluralized into *The Types of the Folktales*, 22; Hudson's *Humor of the Old Deep South* lacks the "old," 237, although correct on 31 (save for a misprint in Macmillan), but neither entry gets into the index under Hudson.

Some of the errors show unfamiliarity with the works concerned. Holman Day, *Pine Tree Ballads, Rhymed Stories of Unplanned Human Natur'*, turns into *Rhymes, Stories of Unplanned Human Natur'*, 633; "Flyting" is reduced to "Flying," 45. Certain mistakes are comical. Mody becomes Moody Boatright, 706; we find "Two Salt-Tea Tall Tales" on 658, Parson Weems' "cheery tree myth" on 15, *Holdeast* for *Holdfast Gaines* on 188, while John Jacob Niles sings "Skip to my Loo" on 125.

Some slips are purely careless: *Life in the Mississippi*, 657; *The Main Woods Songster*, 633; *Simon Sugg* in a heading, 708. Eight of the serial publications listed on pages 3-5 lack dates.

Some slips occur in regional classification. As its title indicates, Cole's *Stagecoach and Tavern Tales of the Old Northwest* does not concern the Pacific Northwest, where it is placed. Similarly *Sut Lovingood's Yarns* belongs under Tennessee and the Old Southwest, not the Texas Southwest.

For some reason a slight article by Levette Davidson on "Moron Stories" gets listed three times within five pages, in general bibliographies on Folktales, Tall Tales, and Humor (23, 24, 28 — none of which are in the index under Davidson; and why do only part of the index entries give column references?).

Page references are unreliable. Wayland Hand's articles on California miners' folklore in *CFQ*, I (1942) are given as 24-47, 127-155, instead of 24-46, 127-153, as if a copyist had taken down the page numbers from the table of contents without allowing for the following article.

Apart from mechanical details, the philosophy behind the listing and classifying has some weaknesses. In the subject heading, "General Studies and Collections," which introduces each unit, many miscellaneous titles are grouped, works of fiction, superficial regionalia, and marginal writings which are in no sense serious studies or collections. Mr. Haywood justifies his eclecticism in a prefatory word that appraises folklore as anything connected with the traditional life of the people. Because of the abuse that has grown around the field of American folklore, special care is needed to distinguish the sound fieldwork from the juvenile romancings (Blair's *Tall Tale America* is called "dazzling"!), and to

divide titles that are wholly folklore and represent completed tasks, from the far larger number that only incidentally contain traditional material. Literature must be kept apart from non-fictional entries. The mere juxtaposition of titles on one theme, says Paul Bunyan, in a lifeless catalogue, as if all were equal, belongs to a dying bibliographical code, and such successful ventures as the third volume of the *Literary History of the United States* and Vail's *The Voice of the Old Frontier* prove the values of the bibliographical essay. Actually Mr. Haywood moves in this direction, with frequent descriptive notes attached to his entries.

In spite of these strictures, Mr. Haywood merits all honor for his earnest zeal in building this fascinating reference volume, which will surely serve as a cornerstone in further enlarging the bibliography of the field.

Richard M. Dorson

*Michigan State College*

*Mister Jelly Roll.* By Alan Lomax. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950. xvii, 318 pp. \$3.50.

It was in 1938 that Jelly Roll Morton, self-styled "originator of jazz in 1902," came to the Library of Congress and recorded an extraordinary account of his life and work, an engaging mixture of talking, singing and piano playing. From this material twelve albums of "The Saga of Mr. Jelly Lord" have been issued by Circle Records. Now Alan Lomax, who supervised the original recording, has transcribed Morton's autobiographical monologue and set it in proper context to produce an interesting life of the flamboyant hard-driving New Orleans pianist who composed "Milneburg Joys," "King Porter Stomp," "Wolverine Blues" and a hundred other tunes, and whose jazz idioms have been widely influential to this day.

The strength and weakness of the book lie in its method. About two-thirds of the text is in Morton's own words, revealing an alert, forceful personality with a capacious memory for tunes, talk, details of all kinds. The sense of extemporaneous performance is strong, the incoherences relatively rare. Lomax has sought to give the book an added dimension through interludes which provide some check on Morton's version of his story. The testimony of relatives, friends and fellow musicians reveals how few of them knew Morton well. One and all they respected his talents, conceding that he could make good his proud boasts when he sat down at the piano. But he had a singular ability to alienate

friends. And it becomes clear that in his aggressive drive for recognition he succumbed to the usual temptations of the *nouveaux riches* — conspicuous consumption (a spectacular wardrobe, flashy cars, a half-carat diamond in a front tooth), cockiness ("I went in and saved the business"), and the familiar tendency to rewrite one's own history (he invented a largely fictitious account of his ancestry from which the Negro element was removed). Lomax's New Orleans researches help to recreate the highly charged Negro-Creole background from which jazz emerged, and thanks to recording techniques most of the book is flavored with the spicy vernaculars of his informants.

The last twenty years of Morton's story — he died in 1941 — seem fragmentary, presumably because the recording sessions broke off prematurely. At any rate, we do not get a clear picture of his most successful years in Chicago during the '20s, and Morton himself remains an elusive personality, as he undoubtedly was in real life. Moreover, Lomax makes little attempt to study the nature of Morton's musical genius, and about the only important close-up of the musician at work is found in a sketch of an orchestral recording session contributed to the book by Fred Ramsey.

A volume of this sort, dealing as it does with the penumbra between fact and fancy, would have been immeasurably better had the author been a firm presiding personality, able to correct the errors and half-truths naturally accompanying spontaneous recollection of the past. But Lomax is a skilled master of ceremonies rather than a historian of jazz or race relations; his book is sprightly, warm, and in spots superficial. Marks of haste disfigure the organization of the later sections, and proofreading cares sat lightly indeed upon author and publisher. But when the limitations of this volume have been noted, it is still evident that Morton proved an unexpectedly rich find as an articulate commentator on and illustrator of that period when popular music was just becoming big business.

Claude M. Simpson, Jr.

*The Ohio State University*

*Myths of Middle India.* By Verrier Elwin. New York and Madras, India: Oxford University Press, 1949. xvi, 532 pp. \$6.00.

Mr. Verrier Elwin is engaged in a voluminous survey of the oral literature of the central part of the Indian subcontinent, and the present volume, large though it is, constitutes only a portion of his work. It has been preceded by many other volumes and more are to come. He has made that part of the country its best

reported, and has stimulated other scholars to start similar investigations in other parts of the country.

In this newest volume the stress is less upon the narrative and literary qualities of the stories than upon the sociological or psychological content. Many of the stories are poor; some are repetitious or even truncated or fragmentary; they have obviously been included because they help reveal the narrator's conception of himself and his world. The major divisions of the book indicate as much. They are Man and the Universe, the Natural World, Human Life, Human Institutions. Within each division are separate chapters. The arrangement has been made not so much for convenience of grouping as for assembling and classifying data. The story-tellers, whatever they thought themselves, were primarily anthropological informants.

At the head of many of the chapters are introductory essays, several of which are of considerable length. These essays vary in character from a search for sources and antecedents in ancient literature and an exposition of selected pertinent folklore parallels to psychological or psycho-analytical treatises. In the matter of contemporary parallels no aim was made to be exhaustive; by now, since so much Indian folklore has been published, the drudgery of such an undertaking would be prohibitive, and when an author desires, as does Mr. Elwin, to get his vast collections into print, hardly likely to justify the effort. The exploration of older literary variants and similar material, which could be a work of great productivity in defining the relationship between folklore and sophisticated orthodox tradition, is sketchily done. The literature has not been well explored and in the case of the Veda, the authorities cited and the accompanying discussions are hardly significant today. For the psycho-analytical investigations the impression again is at times one of haste. Nevertheless the last type of interest leads Mr. Elwin to present some of the most interesting of his material. He has essays and long sections dealing with sex anxieties and frustrations, and a specific and full treatment (in 56 pages) of the theme of the *vagina dentata*.

In the appendixes are a glossary of tribes and castes, a "book-list," a motif-index (based upon Stith Thompson's), and a general index. The whole book is a work of reference, useful for anthropological investigations, and a valued contribution to such studies. It is unfortunate that Mr. Elwin (or his publisher) continues to neglect the slight concession to Indianists of a few simple diacritical marks on names, terms, and other data appearing in Indian languages. This might at least have been done in the Indexes, and it would have been helpful to scholars interested in making identifications and studying the important material contained in the book.

W. Norman Brown

*University of Pennsylvania*

*Native American Balladry.* By G. Malcolm Laws, Jr. Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1950. Bibliographical Series, Volume I. xii, 276 pp. \$4.50.

*The British Traditional Ballad in North America.* By Tristram P. Coffin. Philadelphia: The American Folklore Society, 1950. Bibliographical Series, Volume II. xvi, 188 pp. \$4.50.

The first two volumes of the American Folklore Society's Bibliographical Series are an auspicious beginning. As both authors have remarked, the study of ballads has not kept pace with their collection. These books will assist in the continued pursuit and perhaps eventual digestion of the prey.

Mr. Coffin's bibliography aims to make exhaustive reference to published exemplars of Child ballads in America that derive from oral tradition. Ballad students will be grateful to him, both for making the attempt and for carrying it out with a remarkable degree of completeness. And he has done more. For each Child number he has provided a summary of principal "story types," with reference to typical examples. At first blush, one wonders why the Child "versions" were not used as a basis for "typing," for they are the norms upon which so much scholarship has been based. But the American ballads have often wandered far afield, creating variants and versions widely divergent from Child's, and the author often correlates his "types" to Child's "versions." In addition Mr. Coffin has summarized the most interesting problems that previous scholarship has raised about each ballad, along with many observations of his own. His prefatory "Description of Variation in the Traditional Ballad of America" provides a manual of what he calls "textual variation," mostly of a verbal nature, and "story change."

In these ways he has brought together raw references, theoretical impetus, and some of the methodological tools for the study of variation.<sup>1</sup> For himself, he believes that in such study of American survivals of traditional British ballads are "probably hidden the answers to three of folklore's seemingly insolvable questions: how did folk poetry originate, what are the methods by which successions of ignorant and semi-ignorant people produce art, and what is the history of the arrival and subsequent spread of British songs in America?" (p. xiii). Though he is cautiously doubtful of conclusive answers, he is certain that preceding

<sup>1</sup> In the remarks prefacing his useful "Index to Borrowing in the Traditional Ballads of America" he ineptly uses the term "corruption" for "borrowing," and the guilty ballads are referred to as "corrupting" and "corrupted." If "communal recreation" is the life of traditional balladry, then corruption is a misnomer for an element of the vital force.

studies, especially those of the communal school, have afforded none. For my part, I will grant that America alone can provide a satisfactory answer to the last question. But it is reasonable to be skeptical about the other two, for in the first place, as is commonly known and as Laws' study further makes clear, America has not originated much balladry which is legitimately "folk" in nature or moderately "artistic" in quality; moreover the people who relished and preserved Child ballads were to this extent not musically or poeticaly ignorant but clung to earlier traditions not inferior to those which engulfed the popular taste of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Mr. Laws shows how native American ballads were formed on nineteenth-century literary models, mostly deplorable; he also points to the remarkable fact that British ballads probably have been more popular in America than native creations.

Helpful as Mr. Coffin's work is, there lies still much territory outside the bibliographical fold. Phonograph records and, with some exceptions, archive collections (no reference is made to the Library of Congress *Check-List*), broadsides, and songsters have been excluded. These are often difficult of access, but such is not the case in the unfortunate omission of all mention of musical texts.

Mr. Laws, in dealing with the native ballad, has labored under the difficulty of not having an acknowledged canon but, in fact, of trying to establish one. He has performed a service of the first magnitude. Not only has he isolated 185 ballads which have been collected from singers since 1920 and are presumed to be "live" tradition; these he has classified by subject and identified by title and number. He has also given for each ballad a brief summary, a sample stanza (usually the first), and selected references to printed texts, music, and the Library of Congress *Check-List*; he gives brief information on origins, with reference to more extended notes and studies. This he has compiled in the "bibliographical syllabus" which constitutes the latter half of his book. The first half is a "descriptive study" of the subject — here Mr. Laws has presented the first really comprehensive treatment that native American balladry has had, the first clear view of the corpus of the material: its subject matter, literary characteristics, history, and relation to fact, with special notes on the Negro's contribution and the British ballad tradition in America. Of especial interest, I think, is his exposition of the commanding effect of the social and literary mores of the nineteenth century upon American balladry in its most productive times, which accounts for the entirely different character that it bears vis-a-vis the Child ballad.

A major difficulty in his task lies in determining what a ballad is. He has had to reject the common interpretations of the traditional ballad, including impersonality, because American ballads do not conform to the pattern. A ballad

he defines as "a narrative folksong which dramatizes a memorable event" (p. 2); its "folk" quality derives not merely from its being "traditionally sung by the folk" or being "dependent for . . . continuing existence upon oral transmission," but from its exhibiting "that forthright and unaffected style which is characteristic of unsophisticated people"; that is, a folk ballad is "a traditional piece bearing some evidence of folk style" (p. 9). But what is the folk style? It is said *not* to be confined to the limits of the Child ballad; but when these criteria are eliminated in order to make room for "non-Child" traditional ballads and "vulgar" ballads, the "folk style" becomes "no style," neither the conventional style of Child ballads nor that of more self-conscious "literary" products. Chiefly it becomes, as in the broadsides, a variety or imitation of the latter, usually inferior although with occasional fortunate successes. Notably the dual loss of the instinctively dramatic and lyrical has produced jejune narrative; moreover, preoccupation with fact has largely displaced folkloristic beliefs. I would say that an essential ingredient of the traditional, the folk, in balladry as in other manifestations, is the presence of a sense of form and style as controlling elements—if not prescriptive, as in ritual, then habitual.

For the most part these ballads would not pass the test of the indigenously traditional. They are ballads, that is short narratives more or less dramatic, imitative of various popular styles, but not so much traditional as "remembered." Relative anonymity or obscurity of authorship or ephemerality of print is a requirement to this kind of "traditional" balladry, or else American balladry would include many favorite songs by well known composers, which are different in degree and not in kind. The accidents of collection play so important a role in canonization that Mr. Laws' additional 125 or so "Native Ballads of Doubtful Currency in Tradition" (Appendix II) are, as he says, in content and structure equally entitled to be called ballads (p. 244). His fifty examples of "Ballad-like Pieces" (Appendix III) also are closely related. The important fact, I think, is that differences in origin and transmission, having brought about so few differences in the nature of these ballads, are insignificant; the "folk style," then, either is not something arising from tradition, or is hardly present at all. The test of clearly owing *existence* to oral transmission is one thing, of owing *essence* another. By contrast with the general run of native ballads, observe the distinctive character of the Negro ballads, arising as they did from homogeneous groups with a stock of interchangeable conventions floating in narrative and lyrical suspension.

Bibliographically speaking, these two books are so well done and so useful that they should become standard references. This being the case, it may be hoped that ballad collections published hereafter will refrain from duplicating

in headnotes the references in Coffin's work, but refer to it; and that references hereafter to American ballads will use Laws' titles and numbers. I would like to hope, too, that Mr. Coffin would periodically bring his lists up to date and Mr. Laws would occasionally review the possibilities of additions to his canon and revisions of it according to his system of classification. And finally, I hope that these two works will encourage others to assist further in leading ballad students out of the bibliographical wilderness. *Inter alia*, we need an up-to-date bibliography of Child ballads in England, as well as one of American and British traditional ballads in broadsides and songsters. Mr. Laws, happily, is reported to be preparing a bibliography of non-traditional Anglo-American songs.

Branford P. Millar

*Michigan State College*

**Russian Folklore.** By Y. M. Sokolov. Translated by Catherine R. Smith. New York: Macmillan, 1950. viii, 760 pp. \$10.00.

The author of this book on Russian folklore, Y. M. Sokolov, is a serious and thoroughly-trained Russian folklorist. He was the student of the greatest specialist in the Russian epos, Vsevolod Miller, and together with his late brother, Boris Sokolov, he was an assiduous, talented field worker. His foremost merits are the collections of songs and tales of the White Lake region in the Novgorod government and of epic songs of the Olonetz Region. But his studies on the interpretation of folklore and its historical implications are weaker, and the author is almost naive in his ventures into theory. Still, it was a very useful accomplishment when, before World War II, he brought out a book which presented the latest results of Russian folklore research. There is much, however, which must be seriously considered before the English translation be recommended to the reader.

Sokolov stresses on page 40 the necessity of a historiographic survey: in order to understand "what have constituted the achievements and on the other hand the setbacks or errors in the progress of scientific thought . . . it is important to realize that the history of such a very special science as folkloristics is found to be dependent upon the general social conditions of Europe and of Russia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and that the specific stages of folkloristics have reflected the fundamental changes in the social life." Is Sokolov suggesting to us here to consider the setbacks or errors in the progress of scientific thought of Russian folkloristics for the past 30 years when the Soviet regime started to

interfere with the work of the Russian folklorists? Following the official viewpoint imposed by the party line they had to regard the Russian folklore before the October Revolution exclusively as a class weapon and reflex of its fight, and to see in the classlessness of the Soviet Socialist society the source of the greatness of Russian folklore after the Revolution. Such an outlook did originate a scientific hunt after the traces of the feudal times which penetrated to the people as displaced cultural values (*gesunkenes Kulturgut*). The whole trend had its roots in the work of the historical school which showed the influence of the milieu of the princes and their retinue on the epic motives and which demonstrated that, for instance, the wedding rituals and accompanying lyrics reflect the life pattern of the upper classes of the Kievan and Moscow Russia. A more patriotic and nationalistic concept of the Russian past and cultural heritage was required in the '30's and a new revision of folkloristics took place. It was done with the crude rigidity of the party's method. The "faulty" view and "erroneous deviations" were condemned and a public self-criticism of the folklorists who went astray was ordered by the same authority. A disorientation followed and the scholars did not dare to express their real opinion, although the peak of the fear and censorship was still to come. It was clear that all this official intervention into the science of folklore was definitely against Sokolov's scholarly principles and his personal character, and he made no secret of it when in 1929 he spoke about it on his journey to Europe.

But Sokolov was forced to submit to the dictates if he wanted to write at all, and here starts the setback of his scientific thought which we witness in his book on Russian folklore. He must condemn as formalism the analysis of the poetic form, and he mentions this side of research — i.e., the excellent work of V. Propp on Russian fairy tales — and its results by a few shallow sentences. The problem of parallelism fundamental for the whole structure and composition of the Russian epos and folk song is in fact disposed of by him while there is much that is worthy and stimulating written about it in international folkloristics. He deals on the same level with the folk verse, and he almost disregards the problem of symbolism in Russian folklore, despite the fact that much revealing and valuable work was done in this direction already in the 19th century in the pioneering work of Potebnja and other scholars. Promising studies were started in the search for the Iranian elements in the Russian tradition by Vsevolod Miller, a prominent authority on Iranian and Russian folklore. Also the works of Dumézil and the new studies of Tolstov make it clear that much of importance can still be achieved in this field as well as in the field of other oriental influences. Sokolov reduced the problem of foreign influences to an arbitrary condemnation of the so called "borrowing" or "diffusion" school, although we must appreciate the

fact that he does not go as far as the present Russian official folkloristics and literary history which consider any hint on outside elements as a "cosmopolitan" crime. Similarly he treats the mythological survivals in folklore while we are witnessing the renascence of comparative mythology and the discovery of a much richer mythological heritage than we could have expected. Ridiculous are the bows which the author is forced to make to Marr, who was then infallible, according to the party directives before a sudden purge dethroned his authority too. To the same category belongs the prefabricated heritages of Marx and Engels in folkloristics, as well as the quotations from Stalin, in no connection with folklore, but which Sokolov presents as a scientific criterion. The fact that a scholar of Sokolov's tradition quotes an illiterate article from *Pravda* as an authoritative scientific legacy side by side with the reference to his self-criticizing printed "confession" of his own fallacies is an eloquent enough document.

The search for the changes in language and folklore which would reflect the revolutionary era was still recently the foremost obligation of Soviet science. The recent articles of Stalin, however, culminated the disorientation of Russian folkloristics: yesterday's slogan of language as a changing superstructure was denounced overnight and in the last meeting of the Soviet Academy the accusations of heresy were brought against those folklorists who tried to detect the modifications of the folklore of the Russian "laboring masses" under the impact of the Soviet revolutionary ideology, while folklore is now proclaimed in accord with the latest directives of Stalin, a stable and unaltering set of traditional elements.

If we sometimes got too one-sided information from the different scientific schools, e.g. the historical school dominating the textbooks of Speransky, we were always able to learn the facts and data because they were based on an exact scientific research. In Sokolov's book, e.g. in the chapter on the Russian epos, the facts are often inaccurate, if not tendenciously twisted or simply omitted. His effort to cut the facts to the last of Soviet doctrine is pathetic, and the senseless permutating of the Marxist terminology, with always the "wise leader of the people" on the top, makes the reader feel sorry for a man on the scaffold whose dignity was beaten out of him. It is evident that nothing of modern anthropology, of Boas or Malinowski, not even of Lévy-Bruhl, penetrated into Russia. All that appeared outside after 1917 is beyond the author's reach, and if he had been acquainted with it, he could not have mentioned it. In the chapter on the Chastushki he refers to some worthless articles, while ignoring the three basic works on this subject written and published outside of the country by the Russians Jarcho, Zelenin and Trubetzkoy. Any problematics of the folk rituals is avoided by Sokolov and he gives us, instead of a scholarly analysis, an incom-

plete, uninspiring description on the level of a provincial magazine. In the chapter on wedding ritual and its lyrics we learn nothing either about the erotic symbolism, without which one cannot understand it, nor about the other fundamental element of this ritual, the dramatic structure of the wedding performance. In vain we also look for a deeper insight into the relation of Russian folklore to religion. If we are inclined to look for messages to the outside world which some of the Russian writers still dare to send out between their lines, we stop at Sokolov's reflections on the spiritual about the victory of the Falsehood over Truth. Concluding this chapter on Russian "religious verses" (spirituals) Sokolov says that due to "the antireligious propaganda owing to the general cultural development and the progress of the Soviet organization, the soil for the existence of religious verses is being destroyed."

With a considerable part of the 760 pages cut out, the book could have been made into a good solid outline of Russian folklore, worthy of English translation. By such an arrangement the free cultural world would have paid respect to Yurij Sokolov as to a fellow-scholar in a political prison. But first of all it would have been to the advantage of the American student "whose reading material in a large number of courses about Russia in our colleges and universities" this book was supposed to be. If, however, the Administrative Committee did not feel this responsibility, it was not enough to state that "the views expressed in the works translated are not to be identified in any way with those of the Administrative Committee or the Council" (American Council of Learned Societies). An explanatory remark would have been sufficient, pointing out the errors and falsifications permeating this voluminous publication so that the reader would be instructed or warned as to what kind exactly of "insight into the Russian life and thought" this book provides.

As to the English version, more respect was due also to the Russian text. The translation was without doubt a difficult and laborious task on account of the Soviet terminology and the transcription from the Russian language. A special advisor for the Russian as well as for the folklore itself was absolutely essential. There are mistakes in the general folklore terminology, e.g. the continuous use of the same English word "popular" in place of the three diverse concepts of: 1) oral, or folk, and 2) semi-oral, or popular, as the two genres of literature, and 3) favored or widespread; in the interpretation of the Russian terms for different items of folklore (e.g. "svatebnaja igra" which means the wedding ritual and not the wedding game or play); in the transcription of Russians names and titles. The translation of Russian magazines and articles into English cannot be of benefit to anybody. There will be those who will look for them in English, not knowing they are translations, and those who will have to go through the hardship

of translating misinterpreted titles back into the Russian. There are also factual errors in the editor's remarks. On p. 20 Sokolov mentions the schools of vulgar sociologists, referring to those folklorists who after the purge of the twenties concentrated on the sociological interpretation of folklore, but, condemned for it ten years later, were given this derogatory epithet of "vulgar." In an explanatory note the editor quotes an entry from Ushakov's dictionary: those who in the Marxist parlance are apologists for the capitalistic system. In reality, Ushakov's entry on vulgar economy reads: political economy justifying the capitalistic system. By "vulgar" Ushakov here means simplified or distorted by simplification. Even so, this entry has nothing to do with Sokolov's vulgar sociologists.

To summarize: without a sensible and careful, scientific, cultural, and linguistic commentary, a responsible teacher should seriously hesitate to recommend Sokolov's book to his American students.

*Harvard University*

SVATAVA PIRKOVÁ JAKOBSON

I  
t  
s  
t

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

45

46

47

48

49

50

51

52

53

54

55

56

57

58

59

60

61

62

63

64

65

66

67

68

69

70

71

72

73

74

75

76

77

78

79

80

81

82

83

84

85

86

87

88

89

90

91

92

93

94

95

96

97

98

99

100

101

102

103

104

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

129

130

131

132

133

134

135

136

137

138

139

140

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

151

152

153

154

155

156

157

158

159

160

161

162

163

164

165

166

167

168

169

170

171

172

173

174

175

176

177

178

179

180

181

182

183

184

185

186

187

188

189

190

191

192

193

194

195

196

197

198

199

200

201

202

203

204

205

206

207

208

209

210

211

212

213

214

215

216

217

218

219

220

221

222

223

224

225

226

227

228

229

230

231

232

233

234

235

236

237

238

239

240

241

242

243

244

245

246

247

248

249

250

251

252

253

254

255

256

257

258

259

260

261

262

263

264

265

266

267

268

269

270

271

272

273

274

275

276

277

278

279

280

281

282

283

284

285

286

287

288

289

290

291

292

293

294

295

296

297

298

299

300

301

302

303

304

305

306

307

308

309

310

311

312

313

314

315

316

317

318

319

320

321

322

323

324

325

326

327

328

329

330

331

332

333

334

335

336

337

&lt;p